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ABSTRACT

This research reports on an ethnographic study of Marquesas Islanders and their concepts of violent and aggressive behavior. The study interviewed six mothers about their children's behavior at three stages of early life: (1) infants and toddlers; (2) school-aged children; and (3) adolescents. Analysis of the research suggests that violence is configured differently in the Marquesas Islands. Children roughly test each other's abilities to stand up to hazing. When a child is able to put up with social teasing and unwarranted attacks, others say the child has grown up and joined the group. Humor in the face of hazing indicates that the initiate wants very much to be in the group. Americans and Western Europeans use aggression to accentuate individuality. Marquesans appear to use this to test group solidarity. (EH)

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Gentleness and Violence in the Pacific: A View from the Marquesas Islands

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Gentleness and Violence in the Pacific:
A View from the Marquesas Islands

While puzzling over what might constitute a violent act on this island in the Marquesas, where fist-fights occur bi-annually, I thought of: 1) incidents which seemed "wrong," "unjust," "unwarranted," "mean," or "unnecessarily harsh" to me, but not Marquesans; and, 2) incidents which seemed "not right" (a'i hei) or "bad" (mea hauhau) to Marquesans but didn't seem any more serious than usual, to me. I also remembered my surprise at mothers' reports about how they reacted to displays of anger, crying, sulking and fighting. These were not the lessons Americans seem to be teaching their children.

Hitting and bullying were common among children of all ages. Sometimes these occurred within family groups, but most frequently in peer groups. Bullying had its limits - but these were very different from our limits. Teasing, hitting and ganging up on outsiders seemed to serve specific purposes. Vicious mocking, prolonged teasing and subtle injury occurred continuously, but paired off fist fights were very rare. (I saw only two). Why was this so? and What was going on in the other incidents?

In this hand-out I present:

1) Mothers' descriptions of how they react to anger, crying, sulking and fighting in children of different ages;
2) Incidents which seemed wrong to me but not to Marquesans;
3) Incidents which seemed wrong to Marquesans but not to me; and,
4) Children' reactions to pictures involving conflict.

Lessons about Crying, Anger, Sulking and Fighting

I asked six mothers the following questions concerning children at three stages of early life. These concerned: 1) infants and toddlers (to 3 years); 2) school-aged children (6 to 11); and, 3) adolescents (12 to 16).

Crying (ue)

1. If a small child cries, what do you do?
   a. I say, "Don't make noise." I pick him up, calm him and say, "Don't cry."
   b. I pick her up, calm her and give her some food.
   c. I say, "Don't cry."
   d. If he's a small baby I feed him and change his clothes if he has defecated or urinated.
   e. I say, "What's your continuous crying about?" Sometimes she's hungry. I give her food.
2. If a school-aged child cries, what do you do?

a. I say, "Don't make noise; I'm tired of listening to it." Then I slap him.

b. I say, "Don't cry."

c. I hit that child of mine.

d. I say, "What's your continuous crying about?" If she doesn't say, I beat her.

3. If an adolescent cries, what do you do?

a. I say, "Aren't you ashamed of crying? You're big. What's your continuous crying about? Aren't you ashamed of your crying? You're an old lady!"

b. I say, "Don't cry. Listen to your mother's words." If he's deaf to my words, I hit him with a stick. But my son listens. When I say something, he doesn't oppose or interrupt. When he wants to go out to walk around, he says, "Mama, I'm going out to walk around." I say, "Go ahead."

Rage (ha'o)

1, If a small child is furious, what do you do?

a. When his rage is finished, I slap him.

b. If she's a small baby I walk her around, carrying and jiggling her, like this. If she's bigger, I say, "Don't cry, just sit there; Mama's about to feed you."

c. I get him and slap him.

d. I say, "I'm going to slap you; finish with your rage."

e. I say, "Don't be furious! Do you see this stick? Do you see this broom?"

2. If a school-aged child is furious, what do you do?
   a. I slap him. I get the stick and hit him with the stick.
   b. I say, "Don't be angry (peke). If you're angry, I'll slap you." The anger goes away.
   c. If a large child is furious at a small child, I say, "Don't slap him." If he's furious at me, I slap him.
   d. I say, "Don't be furious! Do you see this stick? Do you see this broom?"
   e. I say, "I'm going to slap you. Finish with your rage!" If you don't slap him, that rage of his won't go away, and the bad(ness will remain).
3. If an adolescent is furious, what do you do?
   a. Taure'are'a don't get furious.
   b. If I say, "Bring me that thing," and the adolescent boy says, "I don't want to. I'm fed up." I say, "Get it! Don't you see (know) your mama?" Then I hit him with a stick. The next time, he runs away.
   c. I say, "Don't be furious. I'll beat you."

<u>Anger with sulking</u>

1. If a small child is very angry (peke pao) at you and doesn't want to talk to you, what do you do?

a. He sits there and doesn't want to talk. You say, "Come here." He doesn't want to. You say, "Come here." He doesn't want to. He doesn't look. You get him and slap him. He cries. You pick him up and calm him. You say, "Stop crying" and the crying stops.

b. I say, "Go take a shower and go to sleep." He takes a shower and goes to sleep. The anger goes away. Before the next day, even, the anger has disappeared.

c. I say to him, "Why don't you talk to me?" He says, "I'm angry at you, Mama." I say, "Stop that anger." He cries because he isn't talking to me. I say, "Stop that anger (work); keep doing good and receiving good." (E noho me te meitai atu, metai mai).

d. I say to him, "What's the root of your not wanting to talk to me? Are you about to be angry at me? I don't get angry at you for nothing. I get mad at you for your bad (actions). Don't act like this!"

e. I say, "What's your continuous anger at me about?" He says something or other. If he doesn't tell me, I beat him.

2. If a school-aged child is very angry at you and doesn't want to talk to you, what do you do?

a. When Eroi (11) gets mad at me, he goes down to the sea. He doesn't come back until 5:00. He comes back and says, "Mama, where's dinner?" The anger has disappeared. It's

different with adults. Anger doesn't disappear quickly. (They get) angry in the heart. (Mea peke io he hopu). That's a bad thing. The anger doesn't disappear for a long time. A long time ago, I was mad at my mother and father. For a long time the anger did not disappear. I saw that that thing wasn't good, that anger. Once, Teiki (husband) was mad at me. Three weeks went by and the anger did not disappear. Then he saw that that anger was not good. It disappeared. It's odd among adults. With children, the anger disappears quickly. With adults, no.

b. I don't say anything. HIs anger is his anger.

Fighting (pipiki'e'e)

1. If small children fight, what do you do?
   a. It's up to each mother to get her own child. If I'm the mother of the larger child, I slap him and say, "Don't fool around; don't hit!"
   b. I get my child. If I see whose fault it was, I slap him
   c. I say, "Don't fight! Do good and receive good (meitai atu, meitai mai)." He doesn't fight anymore.
   d. I get the larger child and slap him.
   e. If my child is at fault I slap him.
   f. I say, "Whose fault is it?" If the small child (started it), I beat them both.
2. If school-aged children fight, what do you do?

a. I go and get them both and slap them. The friend flees, crying and the friend flees, crying.

b. If it is his fault, slap him. If you don't know whose fault it is, just get angry (peke pu).

c. I say, "Don't fool around. If you fool around (fighting), I'll hit you with a stick.

d. I ask Aporro (her 7 year old son), "Who's to blame?" He says it's the other's fault. I get and slap the other.

e. I hit the one who's fault it is.

3. If adolescents fight, what do you do?

a. I don't have any adolescent boys. Adolescent girls don't fight. If somebody else's boys fight, I don't stop it.

b. I say, "Don't fight. You can't do any good work with fighting."

c. I hit them with a stick. When they see the stick they run. They're afraid of the stick.

d. I ask, "Who's to blame." Each says the other is to blame. I say, "Don't fight." They discuss it, but each says the other is to blame. This is sort of a problem. (Mea ina fifi).

<u>Incidents Which Seemed Harsh, Mean, Cruel, Unjust or Violent to Me</u>

Many actions, such as hitting and prolonged teasing between larger and smaller children, seemed "wrong," "unjust," and "unwarranted" to me. Marquesan adults and children paid little attention to these. At times, "bullying" went beyond limits of propriety. People actively disattended but rarely intervened. They often attributed these violations to the "brash" nature (mea va'a'vo) of the attacker, but felt no need or virtue in protecting the victim. Slapping, and hitting with a stick or switch were common discipline threats if not techniques. Learning to put up with group teasing, taunting, hitting and intrusion was a valuable skill. Children were encouraged not to be self-absorbed in activities or expression of emotions, but to attend to others' actions and one's effect on the group.

Teasing a Toddler

A one-year-old sits on his adoptive grandmother's lap in church. He begins to squirm, she puts him down and gives him a handkerchief to play with. He throws it, she nods for him to fetch it, and he does so. She takes it, gives it back, he throws it again, and they repeat the game three times.

The fourth time, she refuses to give it back. He cries and reaches. She looks away. People look at them. He cries louder. She gives it to him. He throws it and waits for her to nod. She ignores him. He whimpers. She grabs the handkerchief. He cries louder. She slaps his mouth. He screams while watching her.

She threatens to hit him. He looks down, plays with his belly-button and cries softly. She gives him the handkerchief.

He throws it down in anger, looks at her and cries. She kicks him and her flip-flop flies into the aisle. Women look and cluck. She retrieves the flip-flop; he continues to cry and she spanks him with it. She nods to the handkerchief.

He looks at it a long while, picks it up and is about to fling it out of her reach, when she grabs it from behind. He screams furiously. Women turn around and look at the child and grandmother with disgust expressions. She ignores him for a moment, then slaps him with her flip flop. He throws himself on his stomach, screams and urinates. She sits him up and slaps his mouth.

He looks down, twists his hands, rubs his stomach and penis and cries more softly. Occasionally he looks up and cries louder, and she threatens to slap him. He looks down, cries more softly and plays with his belly-button. Eventually she picks him up and slams him onto her lap. He leans against her and cries softly.

<u>Hitting a Toddler for "Accidentally" Falling</u>

A plane flies overhead and children jump up and down and yell "avion, avion." Stephanie, 2.5, is standing on the wall. She looks up and falls off, into the stream bed - a 3 to 4' drop. Tive (4) notices this, calls to Stephanie's sister and points.

Children stop yelling and watch silently until she sits and begins to cry. Then they jeer, point, chant "Ste-pha-die-Ste-pha-nie" and laugh. Her 9-year-old sister climbs down, yanks her to a standing position and slaps her. Tive picks up a rock and threatens to heave it at her. Stephanie screams louder and tries to crouch. Her sister makes her stand and says "tuitui" (noise) with disgust. She takes her home.

Disrupting Another Child's Play

A group of preschool-aged children pretend to load and unload a dry-docked boat. Pota, 3, carefully carries a coconut shell full of water to wash down the deck. Justin, 4, runs up to him, knocks this out of his hand and continues to "unload" the boat. Pota startles and begins to crouch to cry. Justin "lifts" him up, pats his head and gives him a drum to carry. Pota turns to this to play.

Tormenting an Outsider

Tamara, 6, is the youngest child at the boarding school. She came, two weeks ago, to live in this group of 50 girls, who are 9 to 15 years old. Her valley has no elementary school, since it is inhabited only by one family. She is called "pepe" and "kaiu toiki" (small child) by the girls. The surveillant feels she is too young to be at the school. Her brother, 10, and sister, 9, do not play with her or protect her. She spends most of the time

alone, playing with small objects and not looking up. She even swims alone. The girls frequently tease her until she cries.

Angel, 10, twists Tamara's wrist to make "burn" marks. She laughs at first, but Angel continues this for a long time. She begins to pull away and crouch to cry. Angel drops her hand in disgust, says "pepe koe" (you're a baby) and walks away. The surveillant tells her to make her stand. Angel yanks her to a standing position. Tamara tries to crouch, but eventually stands, cries softly and moves away to play alone.

Mitara, 11, runs up to Tamara, calls her name, then dashes away. Tamara brightens and chases her. Mitara repeats this 8 times, jeering that Tamara doesn't know how to run. Tamara quits and begins to cry. Mitara looks at her in disgust, calls her a baby and walks away.

Two weeks later, Mina, 10, is talking to me near the sea. Tamara walks by with kin from the valley. The "internat" school girls stop and stare at her. Mina explains that the director has taken her out of school for a vacation. When I ask why, she says "because we beat her up."

One night when the surveillant had gone out, Tamara cried in her bunk for a long time. The girls couldn't sleep and begun to hit her to make her stop. She cried louder and they continued to hit her. The surveillant for the boys' group heard the screaming and stopped them.

When I ask why then kept hitting her, Mina says because she is "putui" (deaf/doesn't listen), "hauhau" (bad) and a baby. She also had a lot of lice which she gave to everyone else.

Younger children as "fall guys"

A group of boys (10 or 11 years old) wrestle. Miro, 10, loses a match when he falls in a pile of horse manure. They all laugh, point and jeer. He wipes off his hand, picks up a mango peel, grabs Fara, 6, and rubs his face with it. Fara shields his face and begins to cry. Miro laughs, pushes him away and tells him to go home (a hiti!). Fara backs off and wipes his face with leaves.

Two minutes later, Miro returns, grabs Fara by the neck and makes him smell his hand, which had landed in the manure. Fara begins to cry and is again told to go home. His friend stands next to him, looking away. They move to the periphery of the area.

Miro returns and Fara winces. He grabs his shirt and throws a roach down it. Fara yells and starts to cry. Miro picks up the roach and throws it down his shirt again. Fara crouches and cries. Miro repeats this three times. Other boys watch and laugh. The friend stands by, but looks away. Miro shoves Fara over and tells him to go home ("a hiti io he ha'e!").

Attacking an Outsider

Twenty boys from the internat play soccer on the field by the sea. An "extern" boy from the valley runs along the road, flying a hand-made kite. Sake, 14, picks up a rock, chases him and throws it at the kite. Five other boys join in. They pelt the kit until it falls, then rip it up and break the sticks. They return to playing soccer. The boy picks up the sticks and paper, crouches on the road and cries.

An Outsider's Defense is His Offense

A 9-year-old from Ua Huka is temporarily staying with his older sister in this valley on 'Ua Pou. On his first day he goes down to play in the sea. Children stop, stare at him and chant "U-a-Hu-ka-U-a-Hu-ka!" He turns and yells, "E ABA!" (What (do you want)?) He walks up to a boy and tries to grab his surf board. The boy grabs it back and turns away. He walks up to a group making a sand castle on a board. He yanks the board out from under it, then throws it down. The boys look away. He walks to the edge of the water, holds his genitals and yells "E aha ta koe?" at anyone who looks at him. He goes up to a small girl and splashes her. Children look away, silently. He goes up to the boats, climbs into one and yells "E aha ta koe?" at anyone who looks at him. An older boy goes over and talks with him. An adult goes and tells him not to sit in the boat. The two boys go off and dig in the sand.

A 16-year-old Torments a 10-year-old

Six boys, close neighbors, sit together on the wall in a public area. Ira (16) and Sake (14) are brothers; as are Nora (14), Kapiri (11) and Reza (10). William (12) lives next door.

Kapiri (11) slaps Reza (10) lightly, but repeatedly until he shields his face and cries. Kapiri laughs, ruffles his hair and stops. Reza cries softly. Noro (12) tosses a pebble at him and says, "silence". He stops crying. Kapiri leaves.

Ara (16) takes his place. He repeatedly thumps Reza on the chest with one hand, the back with the other. After a while, Reza looks down and starts to cry. William and Noro laugh. Ara keeps it up and Reza cries louder. Ara stops. William moves closer to tease Reza, but Ara throws a stone at him. William mock-wails and pretends to fall off he wall.

Ara starts thumping Reza again. He pulls off his rubber bracelets and breaks one. He orders Reza to hold out his arm so that he can put them back on. He puts them on but twists them twice as tight, cutting the circulation. Reza winces. Noro asks Reza for one, and Ara drops his wrist.

Ara jumps off the wall and runs up to Sokorote (10) who is dribbling a plastic bottle. He says "a tuku" (give it). Sokorote laughs, grabs the bottle and runs. Ara throws a stone, which misses, then throws another which connects. Sokorote stops abruptly and looks stunned. Children look away. He shies away to play by himself.

Ara chases him and pins him against the bridge. He punches him in the stomach. Sokorote laughs, pulls his hair and breaks away.

Children call "Ara" and tell him that Reza has said "hiamos" (sleep). Ara runs up to him and threatens to hit him with a rock. Reza runs 20' then stops. Ara brings him back, sits him down and puts his legs across his lap. He holds his hands and makes him hit himself on the face. He orders him to say "puaka" (pig). Reza tries to look down. Ara yanks his head up, grabs his hands again and makes him hit himself. Noro and Kapiri look away. William watches silently.

After 3 or 4 minutes, Reza says "puaka" softly. Ara says, "say it again," and continues to make him hit himself. After another minute or so, Reza begins to cry. Ara says, "E voira!", drops his hands and leaves.

A few minutes later, children tell Ara that Reza has said "hiamoe" again. Ara returns, calls to Sake (14) and they drag Reza behind the tree. They poke him with a stick and he screams. Noro winces and looks away. Kapiri covers his face.

Leo, a large man who is William's adopted father, appers with a stick. William yelps, leaps off the wall and runs, crying. Children laugh at him. Leo motions to him with the stick to go upland, home.

Leo walks up the path to the tree. Ara and Sake slink away. Reza remains in a crouch, crying. Leo hits him three times with the stick, tells him to go home, and walks away. Reza rocks and sobs quietly. Noro returns and sits nearby, but looks away.

Teasing by an Adult

C., 35, the surveillant for the boys at the internat, orders a group of girls to make a place for him in their game of pass-the-coconut. This resembles "hot potato" in which an object is tossed from person to person in a circle, as quickly as possible. Rather than tossing the heavy, unhusked coconut, however, C. throws it at the bare feet of the girl next to him. She jumps and he laughs. The continue to play, nervously, for two minutes, and he repeats this each time. Finally, on Mina's signal, they begin to drop out of the circle, until he's left alone. He heaves it one more time, scowls at them and walks away.

Incidents Which Marquesans Felt Were "Not Right" and "Bad"

Some events, which seemed unusual and awkward to me, but no more unjust than others, upset Marquesans a great deal. These were said to be "bad" (hauhau), and "not right" (a'i hei), and were the topics of criticism for long periods, if not of direct action against the violator.

One Parent Punishes the Children of Others

Children often play in the teacher's dry-docked boat. They jump up and down in it; raise and lower the motor; play with the

switches; turn the propeller; sit on the windshield and throw rocks from the wall into it. At one time a mesh fence surrounded the boat house and they couldn't play in it, but this has been knocked down.

During the July Festival, people are constantly in the boat-ramp area, greeting or sending off visitors, and children play constantly in the boat. Adults shoo them out, but they return. On this day, a boy steps on the tail-light and it breaks off. He begins to take it, but another tells him to leave it. The teacher watches from across the courtyard.

Atanasi, 6, sees this father approach with a stick. He leaps out of the boat, yelling, "e kere" (will hit). The teacher picks up a smaller switch and children leap out of the boat. He says "a mai" (come). Adults and older children in the area fall silent and stare.

Zacharia, 10, who had not played in the boat, goes first and gets switched three times. He crouches and cries quietly afterwards. Adults look away. The other children follow, saying "titahi" (another) and "hakaua" (again) to the next in line. Girls and small children are hit lightly, once. Atanasi is hit hardest of all. The switching leaves welts.

When the punishment is finished, the children look away, out to sea, or down at the ground. After a few minutes, they begin to compare welts. Older siblings come over and inspect their

welts, with serious expressions. They go off, upland, apparently to report to parents.

After a while, the whipped children join arms and start singing a French spelling song, which they normally sing only in school. They sing loudly, in a mocking tone, and edge over toward the area where the teacher is talking to a friend. When he scowls at them, they laugh and scatter.

Then they play chase, enticing each other closer and closer to the teacher. The person tagged is called the teacher's name.

The next day at the bake-shed several adults state that this was not "kanahau," that the children were not his to hit. Discussion centers on the fact, however, that he is the school teacher, and must be able to control the children. No mention is made of the children's actions which I saw as eliciting such a response.

A White Person Hits a Marquesan Child

The French director of the internat was transferred from the island when he slapped a 14-year-old and implied that Marquesans tend to lie as part of their natures. Kapiri was suspected of stealing, but refused to admit to this or to tell on others. The director insinuated that Marquesans lie and Kapiri shoved him. He lost his temper and slapped him.

The other 100 children quickly heard of the incident from the surveillant who was enraged. According to one 10-year-old girl,

they all sat and cried (mea ue matou paotu; mea ue; mea ue). The surveillants (including C. who was frequently rough with the children) sat and cried as well. Parents were enraged and went immediately to the police. Kapiri was considered to be a very good boy (mea meitai oko), but this was rarely mentioned in discussions. Talk focused on the fact that the director was white. If he had been Polynesean, one man said, he would not just be transferred, but would be barred from directing again. Many parents knew that C. was rough with the children, but some said that this was a very different case.

Reactions to Pictures Involving Conflict

I asked 8 children from one valley (9 to 14 years old) to make up stories about the pictures below, and others. Striking features of their stories about conflict scenes were:

1) The children focused on the visible details of these pictures more than they did for other pictures. They were less fluent in imagining unpictured happenings. Their stories tended to be very short and descriptive, or long descriptions of peripheral features, or long repetitions of the same exchange. They seemed to avoid the topic of conflict.
2) Six of the 8 stories kept the boys at the threat stage of the fight, without proceeding to a physical fight.

3) In the two stories involving physical fights, children skipped over the fight itself to describe the aftermath in detail - such as describing how the boy cared for his wounds.
4) In these stories, most arguments were caused when one boy "put down" (hakapapa) the other, or threatened him in some way. In two cases, the boy on the right stole something, and the other was correcting him.
5) In half the stories, the argument failed to lead to a fight because the boys were brothers, adoptive brothers or cousins. (In this valley, children were first cousins to most others).
6) In half the stories the argument ended when the boy on the right admitted he was weaker than the other, and agreed not to threaten him again if he didn't want to fight.
7) Negotiations and techniques cited to postpone or avoid physical fighting were imaginative as indicated in the following excerpts.

<u>Focus on the details</u>

(Suzanne)

These children are about to fight.

This boy grabs the shirt of the other.

He tries to push off his hand.

They fight.
This boy cries. (She looks around a long time.)
(I ask: "Why are they fighting?")
Maybe because he stole something from this boy (on left).
That's the reason.
It's their fault that they fight.
This boy cries because it hurts (on right).
This boy gets very mad at the other.
Because he won't say what he stole.
That's the reason. (She looks around a long time).
Their jackets are shiny.
With long pants.
This boy has brown hair.
This boy had black hair.
This boy with brown hair has a tee-shirt on underneath.
This boy with black hair, I don't know (what he has on underneath).
Because his jacket isn't open...
<u>Prolonged period of mutual threat</u>
(Era)
These boys are about to fight.
This one's a coward.
This one's strong (on left).
This one's afraid.

This one's furious.

This one (on right) says, "Don't fight; there's no reason."

Left: I'm going to fight.

Right: Don't threaten me.

Left: I'm not threatening you. No way.

Right: You'll cry if you fight me.

Left: Sure!

Right: Don't.

Left: I'll fight and kill (you).

Right: Don't. If you do, I'll tell our (exclusive) father.

Left: I'm not afraid.

Right: You'll fight our father?

Left: Our father will fight you.

Right: Our father will tell the policeman.

Left: Tell the policeman.

Right: What? He'll imprison your father until he's dead.

Left: No matter, he'll die. It's up to me to fight. I'm strong.

Right: Not likely.

Left: Yes, indeed.

Right: Fight me.

Left: You want that?

Right: No.

Left: You put me down.

Right: No I didn't.

Left: Yes you did.

Right: Tell on me! ...

(12 exchanges later)

Left: I'll rip out your hair.

Right: Rip it out!

Left: No way.

Right: Fight me.

Left: I don't hit (people) in the stomach.

Right: Hit me in the stomach.

They fight when they finish discussing.

The end.

<u>Focus on the aftermath</u>

(Tahia)

...Later, they fight again.

This boy runs to his house. He cries.

The other boy hit him in the face.

He is ashamed.

The other was mad. He told him to "Go home, I'm about to get mad at you."

He goes home.

His mother hits him.

He cries on and on.

Blood runs out of his mouth.

He goes to wash it off.

Then they take him to the hospital.
They wash off the blood and put on the bandage.
He cries a lot. The infirmier bandages him.
He goes home to sleep.
When he wakes up his mouth is swollen.
He takes it once again to the hospital.
Then he goes back home.
He eats and then goes to sleep.
When he wakes up, he washes his face, feet and head.
He doesn't wash his mouth. Because of the bandage the infirmier put on.
He cries a lot that boy.
The end.

<u>Threats as fight elicitors</u>

(Roger)

...Left: Do you want the arm?
Right: I don't want it. I lose to you. I'm weak. It's yours. Because you are strong. You want to fight. Let pass my threat (of before). You're a child if your talk is that you want to fight. You said to me before, "Fight!" (I say) "I lose."
Left: You're truly a coward (weak). As you grow, you stay the same. I won't fight again with you because you'll cry. With me, you mustn't threaten me again. If you don't want to fight, you mustn't provoke me again.

The end.

No fighting among kin

(Suzanne)

...The boy with black hair said, "Don't fight!"
The boy with brown hair really listened.
He didn't want the boy with black hair to die.
They were perhaps cousins.
That may have been the reason.
Later, the boy with brown hair "kaoha-ed" with the boy with black hair.
From that "kaoha" the boy with black hair confessed truly his sin to his father and mother.
The boy with brown hair had "kaoha-ed" him.
From him came kaoha and he said (to the boy with brown hair), "I won't steal anymore."
The boy with brown hair said, "Come up to my house and maybe eat a mango."

Summary:

Violence is configured very differently in the Marquesas Islands. Children roughly test each other's abilities to stand up to hazing. When a child is able to put up with social teasing and unelicited attacks, others say the child has grown up and

joined the group. Humor in the face of hazing indicates that the initiate wants very much to be in the group.

Americans and Western Europeans use aggression to accentuate individuality. Marquesans appear to use this to test group solidarity.

Picture 1 of Series Shown to Children

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